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The Classical Weekly

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THE STYLE SHEET OF THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY IMPORTANT CORRECTION

IN THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21. 97, column 2, under III, (2) References to Periodicals, there is a sad blunder. For "Roman numerals" write 'Arabic numerals'. Fortunately, this blunder could do no harm: it was so plain to every one that an error had been made. One who looked with discerning eye, for even one minute, at THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY, would see that I could not have meant, in fact, what I said. Peccavi!! Spero fore ut mihi ignosci possit.

CHARLES KNAPP

THE CLASSICAL INVASION OF ENGLISH LITERATURE¹

"Art is the one form of human energy in the whole world, which really works for union, and destroys the barriers between man and man. It is the continual, unconscious replacement, however fleeting, of oneself by another; the real cement of human life; the everlasting refreshment and renewal". In this definition of the function of art, John Galsworthy2 had in mind the continuity of literature, that record of human emotion and human intelligence which renews itself, like the fabulous phoenix, in successive ages and in countries widely divided. In working for union among men literature destroys the barriers of hate and misunderstanding; it annihilates space and time; its conquests are more far reaching than those of statesmen and warriors. The Roman centurion and his soldiers tramped the streets of Athens, but the soul of Greek art made a greater conquest of the Latin conquerors. Similarly, the legions of Julius Caesar and of Claudius seized the lands and enslaved the bodies of the Britons for a time, but the poetry of Vergil and of Horace effected a spiritual conquest of the islands which endures until this day. These invasions of literature are more fascinating than those of history, for they are on the higher planes of life. English literature has been subjected to many spiritual inroads from other nations, to that of Hebrew thought and feeling through the Bible, to Italian and Spanish influence in "the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth", to French

philosophies and modes of expression in the age of Dryden and of Wordsworth, to German culture in the nineteenth century, and to Russian in the twentieth. I think that I am right in insisting, however, that the most penetrating, extensive, and persistent of these spiritual invasions is that of Greece and Rome. Dead nations? Dead languages? Dead art? Spiritually they were never more alive than in a world which still relives and repeats them. The story of this renewal in the English literature of successive periods is too long for adequate survey in a brief paper. The most I can hope to do here is to indicate the causes of the invasion, its wide extent, and some of the directions which it has taken. I invite you to fill in the details of the story by reading first all of Greek and Roman, and then all of English literature.

Modern English literature begins with the Renaissance. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, as every student knows, that great wave of enthusiasm for learning which had invaded Italy in the preceding century reached the outmost confines of European civilization, and came to the English court and English Universities, where Erasmus, Colet, More, Ascham, and other humanists helped to give to the Greek and the Latin Classics an authority in letters hardly less powerful than that of the Bible in religion. The 'spacious days of Queen Elizabeth" were spacious because of a spiritual and intellectual expansion greater even than the physical growth which made an empire out of a crude and powerless nation. The England of the Tudors was a small country of three or four millions. London, the center of government and of art, was a semimedieval town of some two or three hundred thousand inhabitants. But within its broken walls there developed in a few generations a literature that has been the wonder of succeeding ages. The stimulation for all this high art did not come, certainly, from any earlier English literature, nor, indeed, from that of any contemporary nation alone. It came rather from the infusion into native elements of the powerful current of Greek and Latin literature. "Saving Dante on his solitary pinnacle", wrote Huxley in Science and Culture3, "there was no figure in modern literature, at the time of the Renaissance, to compare with the men of antiquity". To Dante I should be inclined to add "Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled". Aside from Chaucer's tapestry of medieval life, however, the English writers of the Renaissance could find, in their own literature, for the gentry only homilies, exempla, and moralistic beast fables, histories, and romances, and for the commons only fabliaux, ballads,

<¹This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Classical League, held at Columbia University, on Saturday evening, June 26, 1927. It is published first in The Classical Weekly at the suggestion of Professor R. V. D. Magoffin, President of the American Classical League. For the courtesy involved in this suggestion all readers of The Classical Weekly will be grateful.</p>

grateful.

It will be remembered that the author of this paper, who is Professor of English at Washington Square College, New York University, contributed to THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 20.187-190 a paper entitled Genders in Jingles. For a comment on that paper, by Mr. C. H. Porbes, see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.115. C. K.>. In The Inn of Tranquility. 258 (New York, Scribner's, 1912). The passage quoted occurs in an essay entitled Vague Thoughts on Art.

⁸This address was delivered by Huxley in 1880, at the opening of a Science College, founded by Sir Josiah Mason, at Birmingham, England. The essay may be found in Volume 3 of the standard edition of Huxley's Works, published by D. Appleton and Company.

and religious dramas. It is small wonder that their thirst for nobility of thought and artistry of expression and their desire for refinement and culture drove them not only to the Italian writers but to the finished Greek and Latin literature which provided such stimulating models. Thus it was that the earliest and greatest period of modern English literature rests solidly on the Classics.

Greek and Latin literature came into England, as has just been suggested, through the channels of scholarship, and it is largely to Oxford and to Cambridge that English writers owe the perpetuation of the classical tradition. Latin, as every historian knows, was the staple study in all medieval Universities; the 'grammar' of the trivium included not only the language but also the literature of the Romans. Until long after the invention of printing in the fifteenth century and the general spread of literacy, Latin was the international language of scholarship and diplomacy. To the contemporaries of Francis Bacon there was nothing at all whimsical in his translation of his English writings into Latin for their surer preservation, nor was there anything startling in Cromwell's appointment of the Cambridge-trained Milton to conduct the Latin correspondence with the statesmen of the Netherlands and other continental powers. The first catalogue of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, made in 1605, lists only three works of English literature, and in the early days of the library no English translations of any Greek or Latin books were allowed on the shelves. As popular as Shakespeare was in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, his plays were not admitted to the library until 1635.

Greek as a regular University subject did not appear until the beginning of the Renaissance. It was first taught at Oxford in New College about 1475 by the Italian scholar Vitelli, and was introduced in 1517 at Corpus Christi College. The Corpus charter establishing it by the side of Latin provided for the study of Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Aristotle, and Plutarch; the Latins studied were Cicero, Sallust, Pliny, Livy, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, Terence, Plautus, Juvenal, and Quintilian. For half a century Greek had a struggle to establish itself by the side of the other classic tongue. In the days of Elizabeth, however, although the study of Latin was more nearly universal, Greek literature was held in high esteem, and since then Greek and Latin have formed together the Litterae Humaniores or "Greats" at Oxford and Cambridge.

The importance of the Classics in Oxford and Cambridge was not allowed to remain unchallenged. There were early murmurings against the theological trend supposed to be involved in Latin instruction, and with the spread of democracy and the development of the physical and social sciences in the nineteenth century both languages came under fire. So Sydney Smith, a satirical writer for The Edinburgh Review, attacked the Classics in the following pungent lines⁴:

Quoted by William S. Knickerbocker, in Creative Oxford: Its Influence in Victorian Literature, 33-34 (Syracuse University Press, 1925). Dr. Knickerbocker refers at some length to the series of attacks made by Sydney Smith and others upon the educational methods of Oxford and Cambridge. Those attacks appeared in The Edinburgh Review, January, 1808, July and October, 1809.

...There never was a more complete instance in any country of such extravagant and overacted attachment to any branch of knowledge as that which obtains in this country with regard to classical literature. A young Englishman goes to school at six or seven years of age; and he remains in a course of instruction until twenty-three or twenty-four years of age. In all that time his sole and exclusive occupation is learning Latin and Greek... His object is not to reason, to imagine, or to invent; but to conjugate, decline, and derive.

About seventy years later, in 1880, to be exact, Huxley supported his attack upon an exclusively classical training with the following remarks⁵:

In the belief <of the great majority of educated Englishmen> culture is obtainable only by a liberal education; and a liberal education is synonymous, not merely with education and instruction in literature, but in one particular form of literature, namely, that of Greek and Roman antiquity.

Huxley further recommended that English literature be substituted for the Classics; but in spite of these advocates of modern languages, English literature did not actually become a formal subject at Oxford and Cambridge until the last decade of the nineteenth century. Greek for entrance was not abolished at Cambridge until 1919; it was not abolished at Oxford until 1920. I myself remember with what trepidation some of the early candidates for Rhodes Scholarships faced the qualifying examinations in Greek, and how difficult it was for American professors to find qualified candidates who could at once read Greek, run marathons, and drink eternal cups of tea. Yet one of these early Rhodes Scholars, President Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College, has paid the following tribute to the Litterae Humaniores at Oxford6:

... Taken as a whole *Litterae Humaniores* is a study not merely of the aesthetic qualities of Greek and Latin literature, but of Greek and Roman thought, and as such it offers the undergraduate what it is no exaggeration to call the key to modern civilization.

This is in substance what Mathew Arnold had said in 1882 in his reply to Huxley's attack on Greek and Latin as a basis for culture (see Arnold's Literature and Science, in Discourses in America).

It is not my purpose to take sides here in the debate between the classicists and the radical scientists and proponents of modern languages. For my purposes I needed only to demonstrate what the opponents of classical training have themselves asserted, that Oxford and Cambridge, as well, of course, as the preparatory Schools which fed these famous Universities, have been devoted until recent times very largely to leading their sons into the pastures of Greek and Roman culture. The influence of these Universities on literature can be shown most readily. I think, by listing the great English writers who have lived and studied within their precincts. At the risk of making a catalogue, therefore, I will call a roll of the authors who as Oxford or Cambridge students were exposed to the classical training which has been described in the preceding paragraphs.

*See above, note 3.

*In an article entitled English as Humane Letters, The Atlantic Monthly, September, 1914. The article was reprinted in The Oxford Stamp and Other Essays (Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1917). <I made some comments on this article in The Classical Weekly 8.49-50 [November 21, 1914]. C. K.>.

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Beginning with Sir Thomas Wyatt, who, with Surrey. introduced the Italian sonnet into England, we pass to the Elizabethan lyrists, dramatists, and miscellaneous writers, Spenser, Gascoigne, Gabriel Harvey, Kyd, Greene, Lodge, Nash, Lyly, Peele, Marlowe, Chapman, probably Ben Jonson, and Francis Bacon: then the early Jacobeans, Donne, Daniel, Campion, Raleigh, Marston, Heywood, Beaumont, Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, Shirley, and William Browne; the Cavalier poets and metaphysical writers, Herrick, Carew, Suckling, Lovelace, Herbert, Crashaw, Vaughan, Traherne, Waller, Cowley; Milton, of course, the "Lady of Christ's College", Cambridge, the Puritan Marvell: the quaint prose writers, classical to the core, Sir Thomas Browne and Thomas Fuller; then the Restoration dramatists, Dryden, Otway, and Wycherly; the diarists, Evelyn and Pepys; John Locke the philosopher; the Queen Anne essayists. Steele and Addison; the poets Prior, Thomas Gray of Eton and Cambridge, the reflective Young and the solemn Collins; Sterne, the Georgian novelist, Dictionary Johnson, and Gibbon the historian; the early Romantic poets, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey; the later Romantic poets, Byron and Shelley; Walter Savage Landor, more Latin than Greek in spite of his amazing Pericles and Aspasia, DeQuincey, the "English opium-eater", Macaulay with his Lays of Ancient Rome, Thackeray, Newman, one of the first scholars in contemporary Europe, and the other major prophets of the mid-Victorian age, Matthew Arnold and John Ruskin, both of Oxford; the novelists Kingsley, Reade, and Butler; the poets Tennyson, Clough, Morris, Swinburne with his Greek verses, and Fitzgerald; Walter Pater the critic; and, to break into the ranks of current writers, Maurice Baring, A. C. Benson, Laurence Binyon, Dr. Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate, Rupert Brooke, John Galsworthy, Professor A. E. Housman, Alfred Noyes, Professor Quiller-Couch, Sassoon the war poet, and Hugh Walpole.

Now I am very far from asserting that all these authors were great classical scholars, or even that all were profoundly influenced by the classical tendencies at Oxford or Cambridge. I know, however, that a checking over of the literary productions of a majority of the writers in this list will reveal unmistakable influences of Greek and Latin reading, and the burden of proof is on the man who would dare to assert that the literature produced by these Oxford and Cambridge men does not show evidence of their classical training both in School and in College. Incidentally, it is astonishing to note the extent to which English literature and formal training in the leading English Universities seem to have been related.

A check of this list of famous alumni will reveal, of course, some notable omissions, but the names omitted will appear on examination to be usually those of writers who have acquired in other places or other ways the classical training for which Oxford and Cambridge stood. No women writers were listed for the simple reason that women were not generally admitted to Oxford and Cambridge until the present century. Some of those whose names do not appear were trained

at other Universities, the Scotch writers (such as James Thomson, Tobias Smollett, Thomas Carlyle, and Robert Louis Stevenson), at Edinburgh or Glasgow, and the Irish writers (notably Swift, Parnell, and Thomas Moore), at Trinity College, Dublin, where the undergraduates' literary magazine even in the nineteenth century was notable for its Greek and Latin Chaucer's name does not appear because I began my list with the Renaissance, but this leading Middle English writer, as Saintsbury has remarked7, made "a very pardonable display of that Latin literature which was the staple of the mediaeval library".

Of the Elizabethans the greatest name omitted is that of Shakespeare. His contemporary playwright, Robert Greene, boasting an M. A. from both Universities, poked fun at this "upstart crow", and even Ben Jonson, a profound classical scholar, made some apology for Shakespeare's "small Latin and less Greek". It is perhaps true that in an atmosphere saturated with Greek and Latin influence Shakespeare needed no direct acquaintance with the Classics. But it is altogether probable that he had a good Grammar School training in Latin, and his latest biographer, Professor J. Q. Adams, of Cornell University, goes even so far8 as to assert, on the authority of Beeston, that Shakespeare spent some years as a Latin school-master before taking up his dramatic labors in London. Moreover, if we omit the English history plays, nearly half of the remaining dramas of Shakespeare deal in whole or in part with Greek or Roman material, and his two longest poems, Venus and Adonis, and The Rape of Lucrece, are on classical themes. He is, as far as I know, the only playwright who has made dramatic capital of a drill on a Latin pronoun (see The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act IV, Scene 1). In his plays appear reminiscences of Lily's Latin Grammar, Mantuan, Ovid, Livy, Vergil, Plautus, Terence, and other Latin writers. Into the mouth of the Danish prince, Hamlet, Shakespeare put allusions to Hyperion, satyrs, Niobe, Hercules, Mercury, and other Greek figures, and the tragedians who appear at the court of Elsinor play a dramatization of Aeneas's story to Dido of the fall of Troy. Did Shakespeare make any use of the Classics?

In the age of Queen Anne Alexander Pope is conspicuous as a selftrained man. He never became an accurate Greek scholar like Ben Jonson, Milton, Shelley, Arnold, and Swinburne, but he was nevertheless the leader of the neoclassical school of the early eighteenth century, and, because of his translation of Homer's Iliad and his virtual paraphrase of parts of Horace's Ars Poetica in his Essay on Criticism, he is probably thought of by American schoolboys as the classical scholar par excellence among English writers. Burns had no classical training, but he imitated Spenser, Pope, and Gray, who had. William Cowper was selftrained, but he translated the Odyssey. Of the Romantic lyrists poor, consumptive Keats never saw the inside of a College as a student; yet Shelley called him pure Greek and granted him a second im-

FEBRUARY 27, 1928]

⁷In The Cambridge History of English Literature, 2.214 (Cambridge University Press, 1908).

⁸In A Life of William Shakespeare, 90-96 (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923).

mortality in the threnody Adonais. Surely no reader of Keats's Endymion, Hyperion, Ode on a Grecian Urn, and On First Looking into Chapman's Homer would deny him the spirit of Greek beauty even though fate denied him an acquaintance with the Greek tongue. Of the Victorian poets Browning is the most conspicuous of the selftrained poets. Yet he was a notable classical student; he showed in A Grammarian's Funeral his understanding of the pure devotion of the scholar who had "settled Hoti's business"; he made transcripts from Euripides and a translation of the Agamemnon of Aeschylus; through his lines Pheidippides runs again the first Marathon.

I have given some especial attention to those writers who were not trained in the classical atmosphere of Oxford and Cambridge because they are obviously more open to the charge of being uninfluenced by Greek and Latin literature. It would not be difficult, however, to make a similar demonstration of classical influence upon most of those listed as University alumni. I must pass, however, to a brief treatment of the ways in which classical literature has affected English writing. This display must be suggestive rather than exhaustive, for the material is too rich for inclusion within narrow compass. From many types of influence I select the use of appellatives, the transfer of myth and story from classical to English culture, the reproduction of classical forms, and, finally, English attempts to reproduce, often in English forms, the spirit of the Classics.

One of the marks of an old civilization is the collection which it possesses of epithets which press into a word or into a phrase a whole world of meaning. To the body of these convenient symbols great writers or apt writers always tend to contribute. Thus Shakespeare has given us Dogberry, Katherine the Shrew, Falstaff, Iago, and many other names that are more than tags, and Dickens has contributed Micawber, Steerforth, and a score of stock appellatives. From the Bible we get many more; Kipling wrote of the sons of Mary and of Martha, we speak of the prodigal son and the good Samaritan, and David and Jonathan are inseparably united as the symbol of friendship. Yet, I believe, the appellatives from classical myth and legend provide a larger list than all the rest together. So Jove is the symbol of majesty, Juno of jealousy, Ulysses of craft, Icarus and Phaethon of aspiration and impetuous youth, and Helen with

...the face that launched a thousand ships And burn't the topless towers of Ilium

is the eternal coquette from Homer to John Erskine. Landor wrote:

Past ruin'd Ilion Helen lives,
Alcestis rises from the shades;
Verse calls them forth; 'tis verse that gives
Immortal youth to mortal maids.

The Literary Digest for June 18, 1927, refers to the late Henry E. Huntington as "another American Maecenas", and The New York Times for June 20, 1927, calls a hypothetical Iowa "poet", who had submitted a Lindbergh poem, "the Aeolus of the Midwest, the Pan of the Corn-Belt, the Orpheus of the Missouri Valley". Not long ago in a College entrance examination in English I asked the candidates to define and illustrate in a sentence the word Aphrodite. One girl wrote: "Aphrodite, a religious person. Example: My boss is an Aphrodite". May I assume that this aspirant for a College degree was employed in a beauty parlor? Seriously, though, is it not true that this girl could hardly read the daily papers with full understanding and that she would be quite lost in a course in English literature?

The extent to which classical myth and legend have invaded English literature is so well known as barely to need mention here. Old Chaucer retold the story of Troilus and Cressida in romance as Shakespeare did in drama; the most often told story in the world, that of the fall of Ilium, appears with all its appended tales repeated and interpreted again and again in English prose and poetry; William Morris and the other Pre-Raphaelites turned for their forms of beauty to two great sources, medieval legend and Greek tale, and Atalanta runs her race again in the soft tapestries of mid-Victorian verse. But Professor Charles Gayley's The Classic Myths in English Literature and Art² (Ginn and Company, 1911) and Miss Frances E. Sabin's fresh and stimulating Classic Myths that Live To-day (Silver, Burdett and Company, 1927) have made unnecessary any extended list showing the use of classical myth and legend in English, for both books contain lists of English poems on classical themes.

Elizabethan writers, as was pointed out earlier in this paper, had the impulse to create but lacked the models in their own literature. For this reason they reproduced the classical forms and started the practice of looking to the Greeks and the Romans for literary types. I must pass by the attempts of Tudor writers and of later verse experimenters to reproduce classical meters, and touch briefly on the English use of definite exotic literary forms. This borrowing is perhaps most apparent in drama. In the sixteenth century the only native dramatic models were the mystery and morality plays, crude productions for the most part, not at all comparable with the much more finished Latin and Greek plays with which the University-trained playwrights were familiar. These dramatists usually got in College a thorough training in the production and often in the actual composition of Latin comedies and tragedies. So, when Queen Elizabeth visited her majesty's University of Cambridge in August, 1564, the first play which the students put on for her entertainment was the Aulularia of Plautus; thus these Oxford boys anticipated by some three hundred and sixty-odd years the Hamilton College Players' production of the same comedy for the gentry of New York at Hunter College, in March, 1927. With such training it is small wonder that Elizabethan comedy bears the imprint of Plautus, and Elizabethan tragedy the stamp and manner of Seneca, even to the five acts, the sententious moralizings, and not infrequently the ghost and the chorus. Some of the English playwrights after the Elizabethan period have succeeded in catching in their dramas the Greek form and spirit even more successfully than have the Elizabethans.

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Milton's Samson Agonistes, for example, deals with a biblical theme in a Sophoclean manner. One might expect Stephen Phillips's Ulysses to be Greek, but his Herod has the Greek economy and restraint, and the ironic fatalism of the Oedipus Tyrannus. So also has John Synge's wonderfully restrained Riders to the Sea; this is bleak and barren in its single setting, and presents in the sorrowing peasant mother Maurya another Hecuba robbed of her children. Thus in some plays the Greek spirit persists as more essential than the mere form.

Another literary type borrowed from the Classics is the pastoral. The city man's idea of a country life was transposed from Theocritus, Bion, Moschus, and Vergil of the Eclogues and Georgics into Spenser's Shepheardes Calendar and other Elizabethan pastoral poems. The "oaten reed" sounds again in the English threnodies, Milton's Lycidas, Shelley's Adonais, and Matthew Arnold's Thyrsis, all rich in the language and the spirit of the Greeks. Gray's attempt to reproduce the classical ode was more successful than were Cowley's reproductions of Pindar, but all English poets seem to have found the irregularities of this form difficult to reproduce. For Jonson, Herrick, and other 'pagans' of the early seventeenth century Anacreon, Horace, and Catullus were kindred spirits, and the classical celebrants of wine, women, and song were admitted readily to the fellowship of the convivial among the English poets. Similarly, the critics of the age of Dryden and Pope reproduced the dialogue forms of Plato and the sharply satirical shafts of Horace and Martial. More intricate verse forms tempted the metrical experimenters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Classical forms, as has been indicated, are very frequently modified in English reproduction so that they are often difficult to identify. The spirit of Greek and Latin literature also undergoes transformation when it mingles its current with that of the western and later culture. The product of such intermingling of classic and Anglo-Saxon is a piece of literary art bearing the stamp of both racial geniuses, just as the mystic union of the medieval Faust and Helena, the Greek Queen of Beauty, produced in Goethe's Faust the aspiring Euphorion. To trace these mingling currents is a pretty problem in literary analysis. An example or two will illustrate. Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors is frequently described as the only purely Plautine comedy which he produced. Plautine it is, in some respects, but pure Latin it is not, for the story of the twin brothers has an Elizabethan form and flavor which would have been quite foreign to the palates of a Roman audience. Similarly, Milton's Samson Agonistes is Sophoclean beyond doubt, but there also runs through it a Puritan current which the Athenian spectators would not have recognized as native Greek.

The student of literature will also find fascination in tracing in the various periods of English literature the drift of interest in classical letters. He will find, on

the whole, that English writers and English readers have been interested in those classical authors who seem to fit best into contemporary philosophies of life. So the heavy sententiousness of the moral Seneca delighted the Elizabethans almost as much as did the fancies of Ovid. The Cavalier poets of the following period, on the other hand, were charmed with the freedom and irresponsibility of Horace and Catullus, while the metaphysicians of the same period drank deeply from old Tully. In his outline study of The Influence of the Classics on English Literature, Professor Casper J. Kraemer, of the Classical Department of Washington Square College, New York University. has shown to some extent how these imported authors, like native writers, have been in and out of favor and fashion in England¹⁰.

The longer one contemplates English literature from the point of view of its classical content the more readily one acknowledges the value of a classical background for its study. As a loyal believer in the great heritage of our native literature I am quite ready to agree with Huxley11 that "every Englishman has, in his native tongue, an almost perfect instrument for literary expression; and in his own literature, models of every kind of literary excellence". I am by no means prepared to agree, however, with Huxley's implication, which is that, because of the excellence of English literature, we can dispense with the classical literature upon which it is so largely based. Huxley was a better anatomist than literary student. Were this not true, he would have perceived his own inconsistencies of thought. Seventeen years before he spoke the words which I have just quoted, he had insisted in successive public addresses that the present condition of organic nature cannot be thoroughly understood without some consideration also of the past condition of organic nature. "When a biologist", he said11, "meets with an anomaly, he instinctively turns to the study of development to clear it up". That is exactly the process which the careful student of literature follows, and a study of literary anomalies in English not infrequently leads back to Rome and to Athens. Literature, like organic life, has its morphology and also its paleontology. But the relics of literature are not fossils; they are the forms which encase the eternal truths of human nature, and a succeeding generation in another land breaths upon them, and lo! these dry bones live.

Our failure in American education, declares Professor Irving Babbitt, of Harvard University¹², lies in

.our disregard for age and experience in the race or the individual, our small esteem for the "ancient and permanent sense of mankind" as embodied in tradition, our prejudice in favor of young men and new ideas . . .

This fault, I believe myself, is apparent in those teachers of English literature who teach literature as

^{*}For a much fuller study of this mixture of the classic and the Elizabethan spirits in the Comedy of Errors see my paper, Plautus and Shakespeare, in The Classical Journal 20.401–407 (March,

¹⁰See The Classical Journal 22.485-407. The article was reprinted by the American Classical League as a Bulletin of the Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, in May, 1927.

¹¹See above, note 3.

¹²See his Literature and the American College, 110 (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1908).

though it had no past, no roots in the human nature of other times and earlier peoples. A fault is apparent also in those teachers of the Classics who think that Greek and Roman literature is entirely a record of the past, with no continuation into the present. Fortunately there are now fewer teachers of either type left to inflict upon their students such misconceptions of the true meaning of literature. I had a Latin teacher once, a gentle soul, who wept softly but entirely coram populo when we read of Dido's wrongs. The girls in the class whispered that she had been similarly deserted by a modern Aeneas, and the boys twisted in their seats and felt uncomfortable. But I am sure that those tears provided a more eloquent interpretation of the emotional content of the great epic than any amount of metrical dissection could have done. Let the teachers of the Classics learn how much alive Greek and Latin are in modern literatures. In support of our need of a regard for antiquity Professor Babbitt writes13:

.. Tocqueville remarks that the contempt for antiquity is one of the chief dangers of a democracy, and adds with true insight that the study of the classics, therefore, has special value for a democratic com-munity. In point of fact the classical teacher could attempt no higher task than this imaginative interpretation of the past to the present.
Washington Square College, Ho.
New York University

HOMER A. WATT

NOTES ON HORACE

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21. 25-26 (October 24, 1927), the editor, Professor Charles Knapp, in reviewing my volume, Horace, Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica (Loeb Classical Library), takes strong objection to my rendering of two expressions in the famous and familiar Ninth Satire of the First Book.

The first is Noris Nos, 7, which I translate by "You must know me". "This", says Professor Knapp (26, note 6), "is not translation, at least as I understand translation; it is rather a complete dodging, in the ambiguous word 'must', of the discussions of the meanings

of these words . . .

In this strong and uncalled for statement, Professor Knapp is referring mainly to his own discussion of the passage in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 28 (1897), xxvi-xxvii, where he accepts Wickham's suggestion that Noris is not a subjunctive, but an indicative form. I have been perfectly familiar with this view for years, but, as I have never accepted it, and indeed regard it as quite unreasonable, I omitted all reference to it.

Any one who lives much in the atmosphere of Roman comedy knows that there is only one way of taking the sequence Numquid vis? Noris nos. Compare Plautus, Captivi 191, Numquid vis? answered by Venias temperi, or, better still, Miles Gloriosus 575, Numquid nunc aliud me vis', to which the answer is Ne me noveris. The bore's reply to Horace's question is really, as Acron gives it, Hoc volo, (ut) noris nos. Professor Knapp objects that Horace already knows the bore, and therefore it "follows inevitably that noris is not a subjunctive"

But the critic misses the point. Though Horace does know the bore, yet the latter feels that he is not known well enough, and that he is not appreciated as he deserves to be; his answer implies, 'I want you to know what a scholar I am': docti sumus.

As to the word must, I have used it as one would do

in e. g. 'You must pay me a visit', which in Latin would naturally appear as Volo (Velim) visas me, It is a convenient and perfectly appropriate word in this connection, and translation should be brief, not periphrastic. In this connection a colleague has called my attention to the fact that Professor Knapp's translations, as given, oddly enough, in his review, are considerably longer than my own.

The second expression noticed by Professor Knapp is non sum piger, 19, which I have rendered by "I'm not a poor walker". Here the reviewer is even more dogmatic (26, note 7): "piger (19) does not mean—cannot mean—'a poor walker'".

The word piger is a favorite with Horace, who uses it with and without some qualification. One is naturally piger in some respect, as in militiae piger, Epistulae 2.1. 124, or in piger scribendi ferre laborem, Sermones I.4.12. So here one should ask in what respect was the bore not piger. The context readily yields the answer. Horace, anxious to shake off his companion, tells him that he must visit a friend who lives a long way off, whereupon the other replies that he is equal to the exertion which such a walk would involve. He is non piger (in ambulando), and Kiessling, the great German editor, to whom Professor Knapp should show some consideration, rightly translates, "Ich bin nicht schlecht zu Fuss

AMHERST COLLEGE

H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

It rests with others, not with Professor Fairclough¹ or with me, to decide whether my remarks on his version of Horace, Sermones 1.9.7, were "uncalled . Neither of us is a disinterested judge in this for" matter. I hope, nay I trust, that others, many others, will differ from him here, as I trust they will decline to accept his dictum that my view of the passage, as given in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 28 (1897), xxvi-xxvii, is "quite unreasonable". One who would judge between us should read and ponder my remarks side by side with Professor Fairclough's discussion of the passage.

For the present purpose, however, it is immaterial whether my view is unreasonable or not. Professor Fairclough utterly missed my point!! I am perfectly willing to admit that "You must know me" can mean "I want you to know <me>", as Professor Fairclough puts it, or, as I should express his thought, 'You ought to know me'. I trust he will match my candor by admitting, at once, without reservation, that the words "You must know me" can perfectly well mean, 'I am sure that you know me'. His words fit equally well his view of the passage and mine!! Is this translation? Is not this 'dodging' the issue? I beg at this point to express my regret that I used the word dodging. meant it in no invidious or unpleasant sense. I should have realized that the word often has an unpleasant connotation. I should have remembered, too, that a critic of another's English should have kept his own impeccable. Peccavi. Ignoscant omnes mihi praecipueque Professor ille Faircloughius, quem et nunc et semper honoris tantum causa nominem velim.

Having lived for a long time in the atmosphere of Plautus, I do not need instruction concerning Plautus's use of Numquid vis, etc. But I have never admitted, and I do not ever expect to admit, that one author's use of an expression is proof positive of the use of that expression by every other author, contemporary or Professor Fairclough might read with profit some remarks of mine on the valuelessness of many socalled parallels to a given author in later writers: see my paper, The Literary Study of Virgil, The School Review 13.492-508 (June, 1905).

With respect to piger I need make no reply; Professor Fairclough has made it for me by saying that, in order

¹My rejoinder to Professor Fairclough's comments on my review of his book was submitted to him, and opportunity was offered him to discuss the matter again, if he wished.

to make piger mean 'lazy walker', he called in the Did any person intelligent enough to be able to read Horace in the original, or even in translation, need any definition of piger other than what his own powers of reflection or observation would enable him to import into the word from the context? need to point out to Professor Fairclough that, in translating piger by "a lazy walker", he was confusing the provinces of translation and interpretation? Sometimes, in order to give the right effect, one must cross that dividing line. For example, a literal rendering of Horace, Carmina 1.1.4-5, metaque fervidis evitata rotis, 'the turning-post successfully avoided by the glowing wheels', is to the ordinary reader, to the learned reader, also, less suggestive than the version which, I suspect, is the usual rendering, 'the turning-post barely avoided by the glowing wheels'. But, in rendering so simple a word as piger, so amply explained at once, in the context, there was, I assert again, no need whatever to desert translation for interpretation.

Professor Fairclough's reference to Kiessling interests me. He seems to mean that, because he has himself been willing to borrow a translation, or rather interpretation, from Kiessling, that interpretation is This line of argument is new to me. I myself am willing to pay heed to Kiessling-or to any one else—only when I am convinced that he is right. I ask no one to accept my views unless he is convinced that

they are right.

CHARLES KNAPP

NEW JERSEY CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

A very successful meeting of the New Jersey Classical Association was held in connection with the New Jersey State High School Conference, at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, Saturday, May 7, 1927. Miss Edna White, of the William L. Dickinson High

School, Jersey City, presided.

The following program was carried out, with an audience of over 100 in the morning and over 200 in the afternoon (a joint session with the New Jersey Association of Teachers of the Social Studies): Address, Fourth Year Latin—Ideals Tempered By Necessity, Dr. A. A. Hamblen, Lawrenceville School for Boys; Address, Beyond the Syllabus, Mr. Leo Dressler, Franklin K. Lane High School, Brooklyn, New York; Address, The Acquisition of a Vocabulary, Mr. H. F. Standerwick, Blair Academy, Blairstown; Address, Some Musical Settings to Horace (illustrated), Mr. Walton Brooks McDaniel, Second, New York University Address, Mystic Pompeii, Professor Michael Rostovtzeff, Yale University.

All the speakers were very inspiring and helpful. The program, which was one of the best given by the Classical Association, was the result of the untiring

energy of the President, Miss Edna White.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer showed the largest membership and the best financial condition in the history of the Association. The foundation had been splendidly laid by the preceding Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Chas. Huntington Smith, now of Deerfield Academy, Deerfield, Massachusetts.

Miss White and Mr. Blakeslee were elected President

and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively, for the third

time.

SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, LONG BRANCH

CHARLES W. BLAKESLEE

A SECOND NOTE ON SATA

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.116 Mr. H. E. Wedeck, in commenting on Professor J. B. Mayor's note on Cicero, De Natura Deorum I.4, finds it "strange that Professor Mayor did not think of the appropriate and concise word sata..." as equivalent to the Greek φυτά, supporting his view of their equivalence by quotations and citations from various Latin authors.

The words φυτά (from φύω, 'grow') and sata (from sero, 'sow', or 'plant') are, however, not synonymous. The former refers to all vegetable growth, both wild and cultivated, the latter to things sown or planted, that is, to cultivated plants, crops, or trees, which is pretty clearly the meaning in the passages quoted by Mr. Wedeck from Vergil and Palladius and in the other passages cited under the word in Harpers' Latin Dictionary. And, after all, if the word $\phi \nu \tau \delta$ is equivalent to sata, it is less surprising that Professor Mayor did not think of the equivalence than that Cicero himself should have constantly have overlooked it and felt himself compelled to resort to the cumbersome expressions found not only in two passages in the paragraph under discussion but in at least eighteen others cited in my edition of the De Divinatione (in a note on 2.30), to which should be added De Officiis 2.11 and Tusculan Disputations 5.37, not to mention similar periphrases in Seneca (Naturales Quaestiones 2.1.2)

and Gellius (2.24.7).
In Cicero, De Natura Deorum 1.4, it seems likely that in the words fruges et reliqua quae terra pariat Cicero is loosely referring to all vegetable life, both cultivated and wild, both equally given by the gods for the advantage of man, but whether this be the correct interpretation or not, it seems reasonably certain that Cicero would not have used sata for wild plants, and this view is not in the least weakened by De Natura Deorum 2.130, where the river Indus ... conserit, for the context there makes it clear that the river is personified as itself a planter.

AMHERST COLLEGE

ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CLASSICAL LEAGUE, WASHINGTON, SEATTLE, JULY, 1927

One part of the 1927 meeting of the American Classical League was held in Seattle, Washington, July 6-7, 1927, in conjunction with the annual summer session The great of the National Education Association. success of the meeting was chiefly due to the work of the Local and State Committees, under the efficient leadership of Miss Jennie Keith, of Seattle, and Miss Helen L. Dean, of Spokane. The social and literary features were equally gratifying. Publications of the League and of its Service Bureau for Classical Teachers, attractively displayed, were eagerly examined by visitors, many of whom enrolled as members

of the League.

Dr. David Thomson, Acting President of the University of Washington, cordially welcomed the visitors; Dean Anna P. MacVay, of the Wadleigh High School, New York City, a Vice-President of the League, responded. Large audiences filled all available seats, and left no standing-room. Two past Presidents of the National Education Association, Mrs. Josephine C. Preston, State Superintendent of Schools for Washington, and Miss Olive M. Jones, of New York, bore testimony to the practical advantage for administrators of classical training. Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, Superintendent of the Los Angeles Schools, described the Classical Center maintained at the Board of Education cation Building in Los Angeles, under the skilful direction of Miss Josephine Abel. This unique enterprise is attracting wide attention and ought to be imitated everywhere. Professor Frederick S. Dunn, or the University of Oregon, in his Evaluation of Some Modern Novels, turned a flood of light on the question how far an author may go with impunity in defaming an historical or traditional hero or heroine. Thomas K. Sidey, of the University of Washington, set forth The Advantages to Teachers from Travel in

<¹As the result of circumstances beyond my control, reports of various meetings, including that of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, held in May last, have been delayed. They will appear in this and succeeding issues. C. K.>.

Mediterranean Lands. Miss Gretchen Kyne, of the High School, Crockett, California, reported the good effect of the League's Investigation of Classical Teaching, and Miss Claire Thursby, of the University High School, Oakland, California, outlined A New Program for the Junior High School.

WADLEIGH HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK CITY

ANNA P. MACVAY

THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

At the regular meeting of The New York Classical Club, on May 21, Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University, gave a most fascinating lecture on The Greek Anthology: Selected epigrams from Greek Democracy to Byzantine Imperialism. This period includes a multitude of authors spread over more than 1500 years. Though these epigrams cover so many years, there is an 'Ariadne thread' leading the reader through this stretch of centuries. Professor Allinson said that, after much study, he decided that the historical order reflects the Greek mind best. Patriotism, that was the strongest note in the days of the early Athenian democracy, fades away under the Roman rule, but the "human comedy of life and death is a continuous performance."

Theognis of Megara (a town which became the mother city of Byzantium), left many wise sayings. Anacreon deals with enjoyment, showing regret only for the flight of youth. Aeschylus represents the patriotic feeling in the epitaph he wrote for his own tomb. In this he mentions his own military achievements, of which he was more proud than of his success as a poet. In Simonides of Ceos we find the acme of the epigram. His verses deal with a variety of subjects, but the best are those which are concerned with life and death and with patriotic themes, such as the exploits of the heroes of Thermopylae and Salamis and Plataea. The era of Pericles was without any epigrams until Plato the Divine wrote epigrams on Aster, a

beautiful youth.

Professor Allinson's translations of the epigrams that appealed to him most were of the happiest, and made all who heard him resolve to go home and renew their acquaintance with these precious gems in which the Greek poets tell us their inmost thoughts and feel-

At the business meeting the following Officers were elected: President, Miss Edna White, Dickinson High School, Jersey City, New Jersey; Vice-President, Professor Casper J. Kraemer, Jr., Washington Square College, New York University; Secretary-Treasurer Professor E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College; Censor, Mr. Edward Coyle, Morris High School; Delegate to the American Classical League, Miss Edna White. BEATRICE STEPANEK, Censor

THE WASHINGTON CLASSICAL CLUB

The Washington Classical Club responded in full

force to its Secretary's invitation to the first meeting of the year 1927-1928. On Saturday, October 15, the members and their friends met for luncheon at the Raleigh Hotel, and after luncheon listened with much pleasure to a brief talk by Dr. Cloyd Heck Marvin, the recently installed President of The George Washington University, and to a paper by Professor Wilfred P. Mustard, of The Johns Hopkins University. President Marvin spoke as a friend of the Classics, emphasizing the debt of our civilization to Greece. Professor Mustard presented, under the title A Distinguished Roman Family, a vivid sketch of the lives and the characters of the Senecas, not forgetting that Gallio who "cared for none of these things".

Professor Charles S. Smith, of the George Wash-

ington University, was continued as President of the Club for this year. The other officers are Mrs. Mable

Gant Murphy, of Western High School, Secretary-Treasurer, and Miss Mable C. Hawes, of Eastern High School, Corresponding Secretary.

Mable C. Hawes, Corresponding Secretary

SCHOLARSHIPS OF THE NEW YORK CLASSICAL CLUB

The New York Classical Club, in January and in June of each year, offers two prizes of \$150 each, to the most promising students of Latin and Greek just being graduated from the various New York City High Schools. The recipients must prove their proficiency in special examinations, in these two languages, conducted by the Club.

At the examination in June, 1927, the eighteenth given by the Club, there were 60 competitors-32 girls and 28 boys-, representing 24 High Schools which offer the four-year course in Latin or the three-

year course in Greek.

The Latin Scholarship was divided equally between Else A. Zorn, of Curtis High School, and Emerson Buchanan, of New Utrecht High School. Each attained a grade of 90%

The Greek Scholarship was won by Ethel J. Herman,

of Wadleigh High School, with 93%.

This makes the twenty-seventh award of the Latin Scholarship and the twenty-second award of the Greek Scholarship.

Honorable mention was conferred, in Latin, on Frances V. Markey, of Washington Irving High School, with 87%, in Greek, on Jacob Schleifer, Richard Kurdinat, and David Moskowitz, of Eastern District High School, each of whom received a grade of 88%.
To these candidates has been awarded the Classical

Medal given by the Club.

CARROLL N. BROWN, Chairman, Committee on Scholarships

VATICAN WINE

To wine from the Vatican Hill Martial refers in four different passages, always in most uncomplimentary terms. In 1.18 he gives to it eight lines of abuse; in verse 3 he calls it *pessima vina*. Compare 6.92.3 Vaticana bibis: bibis venenum; 10.45.5 Vaticana bibas, si delectaris aceto: 12.48.14 et Vaticana perfida vappa cadi. In connection with these passages it is interesting to note a dispatch in The New York Times for Sunday, January 22, 1928, dated at Rome, January 21, and running in part as follows:

"Leo XIII, although personally abstemious, was the last Pope to try to grow wine grapes on the slopes of the Vatican Gardens as an agricultural experiment. The result was an acidulous vintage which the obsequious courtiers pronounced delicious, but they could hardly avoid making wry faces when drinking it".

ILLINOIS WOMAN'S COLLEGE, MARY JOHNSTON JACKSONVILLE

MORE LATINISMS IN ENGLISH

Professor Kraemer's article, Some Latinisms in English, THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21.57-61, reminds me of certain instances in English literature that I have frequently quoted in class as illustrating English words used with full consciousness of their Latin significance.

Affinity (= relationship by marriage: sister-in-law).-This use occurs in a novel by Anthony Trollope. I cannot find the exact passage at present.

Alien (= another's).—Kipling, The Fancy Ball, in Departmental Ditties.

And I had embraced an alien waist . . .

Ruin (= fall), illimitable, inane.—These three words occur together in Tennyson, Lucretius 40. Ruining along the illimitable inane.

ILLINOIS WOMAN'S COLLEGE, MARY JOHNSTON JACKSONVILLE